

Social Questions Bulletin

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MAY, 1959

Number 5

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS: . . . UNRECONSTRUCTED DEMOCRAT

receiving the Sidney Hillman Award for Meritorious Public Service, Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, earlier this year, told of some recent shocks to his good faith in democracy.

The faith in which I was brought up was as simple and content as the environment. Democracy was the answer to everything, including the ills of democracy. These ills would be cured by more democracy. The ideal toward which we were moving was the civilization of the dialogue, where everybody talked with everybody else about everything, where nobody tried to get his way by force or fraud, where everybody was content to abide by the decision of the majority as long as the dialogue could continue. Democracy meant self-government and self-government meant primarily participation by the individual, at least through the selection of his representatives, in decisions affecting his life and happiness. Since decisions affecting life and happiness were taken not merely by his government, but also by many other institutions, corporations, trade unions, and political parties, for example, the thing to do was to democratize them, as well as the government.

In this view the great crime is to try to prevent other people from speaking up, or to say there are certain things you won't talk about, or certain people you won't talk to, either at home or abroad. In this view education and communication are of prime importance, because if you can't hear what the others are saying, or can't understand it, or if they can't hear or understand you, there can't be any dialogue, and democracy becomes meaningless.

The democratic faith is faith in man, faith in every man, faith that men, if they are well enough educated and informed, can solve the problems raised by their own aggregation.

That faith in democracy of Robt. Hutchins has, he reports, some recent rebuffs: from associates in his Fund's trade union project who disliked his democratization-of-unions panacea; from those who found some of the most democratic unions most abhorrent; and from others on the Fund's common defense project who rejected his proposal that we subject foreign policy to democratic control, and who told him:

That in addition to being impossible this was unconstitutional . . . whatever I might think of the policies followed by the President and the Secretary of State, and however I might dislike being blown up or suffocated as a result of these policies, the Founding Fathers intended I should be in precisely this position . . . there was no way, in view of the enormous technical problems of modern warfare and international relations, in which the citizens could actually participate in the decisions upon which their lives depend.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, founded in 1907, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives, the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decisions, not by violence.

Another shock came to Hutchins at the conference on the Island of Rhodes on Representative Government and Public Liberties in the New States, from

the relief with which members from the new states welcomed military dictatorships in their countries and with which Frenchmen present welcomed de Gaulle—a measure of the current disenchantment with democracy. These men saw no way of adjusting democratic institutions to contemporary realities. What they hope for is a period of order in which the most acute problems, like Algeria in France and corruption in Siam, may be solved; after which they may, or may not, try government by the people again. . . . I came away from Rhodes with foreboding we might be at the beginning of something new in the last hundred years—a world-wide anti-democratic trend that had little or nothing to do with the intimidations or seductions of the Kremlin. (It was significant by the way that in eight days of discussion no member from any new state said a word about communism or Russia.) This anti-democratic trend would reverse the aspirations of all men of good will at least since 1848 for government by the people.

But Mr. Hutchins is still for democracy. He urges we defend and expand it, both by strengthening our education in the sense not simply of mechanical manipulation of objects but of understanding our world and history—and also by “institutional remodeling the like of which has not been seen since the Founding Fathers.” If through truer education,

we can be equipped for the dialogue and invent the means by which the bureaucracy can hear it and be made responsive to it, we shall have come a long way from where we are now in relation, for example, to the State Dept. and the Atomic Energy Commission. Then political participation would mean not only what it too often means exclusively now, the ballot, but also participation in the dialogue about the ends and means of the political society. We would be a community learning together, and the bureaucracy would be learning too. . . . It is still our responsibility, now more than ever, to see to it that government of the people, by the people, and for the people does not perish from the earth.

We in MFSA like democracy and share the Hutchins faith. The entire significant address, “Is Democracy Possible?” is available free from Fund for Republic, 60 East 42 St., New York 17, N. Y.

All MFSA Roads Lead to St. Louis

All of us MFSA members and friends are called by President Loyd F. Worley to meet in 1959 National Convention at St. Louis, Missouri, May 29-31, at the St. Louis YMCA, 1528 East Street. Housing facilities are also available in nearby hotels and the Central YWCA, 1411 Locust Street. The meeting is with registration at 10 a. m. Friday, May 29, and closes with communion on the afternoon of May 31.

We know of a station wagon heading for St. Louis from California and we strongly urge that other delegates from all other states descend this month on St. Louis for the MFSA slave, by station wagon, car, bus, train, plane, bicycle, foot, or any other mode. There'll be fun, fellowship, information, inspiration—and the serious, responsible business of building by full planning and decision, a more effective MFSA and a more adequate program in response to today's issues in the use of peace, democratic freedoms, racial equality and brotherhood, and socio-economic advance. TOP PRIORITY AT ST. LOUIS WILL BE GIVEN TO ELECTION OF MFSA's NEW

NATIONAL TRAVELING SECRETARY FOR A GREAT NEW ERA OF MEMBERSHIP AND PROGRAM ADVANCE. IN MAKING THAT VITAL ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION YOUR WISDOM AND HELP ARE NEEDED. “Meet Me In St. Louis.”

To: MFSA, Box 327, Gresham, Oregon.

“Meet Me In St. Louis.” My \$3 registration fee is enclosed. ☐ Send me more program details.

Though I can't come, I'll help those who do—with the enclosed contribution of \$_____ and my good wishes and prayers.

My program suggestions are enclosed: _____

Signed _____

Address _____

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES: A FIRST AMENDMENT CHALLENGE

United States of America vs. Frank Wilkinson:
Criminal Action 21756

At hearings in Atlanta, Georgia, July 30, 1958, Frank Wilkinson told the House Committee:

"As a matter of conscience and personal responsibility, I refuse to answer any questions of this committee.

"I challenge, in the most fundamental sense, the legality of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It is my opinion that this committee stands in direct violation by its mandate and by its practices, of the first amendment to the United States Constitution. It is my belief that Congress had no authority to establish this committee in the first instance, nor to instruct it with the mandate which it has.

"I have the utmost respect for the broad powers which the Congress of the United States must have to carry on its investigations for legislative purposes. However, the United States Supreme Court has held that, broad as these powers may be, the Congress cannot investigate into an area where it cannot legislate, and this committee tends, by its mandate and by its practices, to investigate into precisely those areas of free speech, religion, peaceful association, and assembly, and the press, wherein it cannot legislate and therefore it cannot investigate.

"I am, therefore, refusing to answer any questions of this committee."

—Congressional Record, Aug. 13, 1958.

CHRONOLOGY

- July 22, 1958—Subpoena issued in Washington, D. C.
- July 23, 1958—Subpoena served on arrival in Atlanta, Georgia.
- July 30, 1958—Hearings held in Atlanta, Georgia.
- Aug. 8, 1958—Contempt of Congress Citation recommended by House Committee on Un-American Activities.
- Aug. 13, 1958—Contempt of Congress Citation voted by House of Representatives.
- Dec. 2, 1958—Indictment voted by Federal Grand Jury, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Dec. 8, 1958—Arrested on Federal Grand Jury Indictment, Trenton, New Jersey.
- Jan. 12, 1959—Arraignment scheduled in Atlanta, Georgia.
- Jan. 20-21, 1959—Trial in Atlanta, Georgia (jury rendered verdict of guilty).
- Jan. 23, 1959—U. S. District Judge Boyd Sloan sentenced Frank Wilkinson to 12 months in jail.

Statement by Frank Wilkinson Before the Sentence of the Court Was Imposed, January 23, 1959

"I would like you also to know that it is not just a matter of principle here that guides me, but it is based upon some very real experiences that I have personally had. I spent the first 14 years of my life trying to rid my city of Los Angeles of slums, and had all of my efforts, in effect, destroyed because of my failure to answer a question of this kind from a similar State Committee in California. And subsequent to that, in my work in civil liberties, I have witnessed, and known hundreds of persons subpoenaed before this Committee and have seen in a very real sense the damage that is done to lives and reputations and professions—and to our country, as I see it.

"In this sense, not only just the subpoenaed people, but I feel that these violations, as I see them, of the First Amendment, have caused greater fear in our country, that cause people that are never called before it to not exercise their freedom of speech, not to write things, not to attend meetings, not to speak out—for fear that they themselves might be called before a Committee like this, as some of us have.

"I've done everything physically within my energy and my intellect to petition the Congress to abolish this Committee and I have urged everyone that I could reach with my voice or my writings to do likewise—to petition the Congress, and, in the course of this, as I've been called before this Committee, now the second time, on each occasion I've attempted with the highest conscience and personal responsibility to challenge in the most fundamental legal sense, as I see it, the issue here of the First Amendment. I really feel that our Freedoms do not have meaning unless they are used, unless they are exercised, and, I believe that both by my petitioning of the Congress, and by the stand that I have been taking when called before the

Committee, that I am exercising the Freedom of the First Amendment. And, without this exercise, I fear that the Freedoms may not last."

A motion for a new trial was filed, but denied. The case being appealed to a higher court, and may be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The National Office of the American Civil Liberties Union is providing legal representation in this test of the Constitutionality of the Mandate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM—MFSA ANNUAL MEETING, 1959, ST. LOUIS

Friday, May 29—Downtown YMCA, Locust Street at 16th.

10:00 a. m.—Registration.

10:30 a. m.—Devotions, Rev. Carl Bergsten, Union Methodist Church.

11:00 a. m.—Annual report, Loyd F. Worley. Discussion.

11:30 a. m.—Annual report, Edward L. Peet.

Annual report, Mark A. Chamberlin. Discussion.

12:30—Lunch.

2:00 p. m.—Address, "Roll Call for Radicals." Dr. O. Walter Wagner, executive director Metropolitan Church Federation of Greater St. Louis. Discussion.

4:30 p. m.—Address, "An Integrated Local Church." Dr. Allen Hackett, pastor Pilgrim Congregation Church.

6:00 p. m.—Dinner.

7:30 p. m.—Panel, "Bomb-Testing and the Peace." Arranged by Mrs. Frank Wright.

Saturday, May 30

8:30 a. m.—Devotions, Rev. Fred Ball, Chicago.

9:00 a. m.—Address, "Looking Backward and Forward." Rev. Jack McMichael, editor, "Social Questions Bulletin." Discussion.

10:30 a. m.—Address, "Mutual Problems of the Church and Organized Labor." Mr. Ted Hawks, director Region 5, United Automobile Workers of America. Discussion.

12:30—Lunch.

2:00 p. m.—Address, "Russia As I Saw It." Rev. Donald C. Everhart, pastor Arlington Methodist Church.

7:30 p. m.—Address, "Our Experience In Housing." Mr. C. Braden, field secretary, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., co-author, "The Wall Between."

Sunday, May 31

9:00 a. m.—Committee meeting.

11:00 a. m.—Worship with St. Louis churches.

2:30 p. m.—At St. John's Methodist Church.

Reports of Committees. Business Session.

4:00 p. m.—Closing Service of Holy Communion.

SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN

\$2.00 per year

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Issued monthly, October through May, and one summer issue.

METHODIST FEDERATION for SOCIAL ACTION

An unofficial fellowship founded in 1907.

President, Dr. Loyd F. Worley; Vice-Presidents, Rev. Frederick E. Ball, Rev. Lee H. Ball, Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, Rev. Elwin E. Wilson; Recording Secretaries, Mrs. Ella Mulkey, Miss Janice Roberts; Treasurer, Rev. Edward L. Peet.

Membership and West Coast Field Secretary, Rev. Mark A. Chamberlin

Editor, "Social Questions Bulletin," Rev. Jack R. McMichael

Editorial Office and Office of Publication

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LETTER TO SOME CALIFORNIA-NEVADA METHODISTS

Brother Minister: March 31, 1959.
The undersigned officers and members of the Methodist Federation for Social Action (California-Nevada Conference letter) commend the enclosed Social Questions Bulletin and membership folder to your careful attention. Since 1907, the Federation has pioneered in the application of the Gospel to contemporary society. The late Bishop Francis McConnell said:

"The Federation has always been under attack and usually from those elements that stand in the way of the realization of the good society."

Nevertheless the MFSA continues to this day and is the best Christian organization of its kind—unofficial, independent and prophetic. Among its members lay and clerical are four out of five of the church.

Here in our own California-Nevada Conference are 150 members—lay and clerical. At least three times a year we hold worship retreats and meetings of a most stimulating character, for which we covet your patronage.

Since some of the younger ministers to whom this letter is addressed shared in the recent Social Concern Seminar at White Sulphur Springs, we felt that this would be an opportune time to tell you of MFSA.

The Social Questions Bulletin—published monthly—can be had on a trial basis for \$1.00 a year through a special offer. We express the hope that you will fill out the application on the brochure and send to Gresham, Oregon? Do not miss our bulletin. Full membership is \$5.00 a year.

Fraternally yours,

Rev. Wendell Kramer, President	The Rev. Don Chase
Paul Hubbard, Vice President	The Rev. Gene Carter
Ruth Warner, Sec.-Treas.	The Rev. Charles Lord
Rev. Howard Busching	The Rev. Robert Panzer
The Rev. Dillon Throckmorton.	

Copy of letter to some socially concerned South Central Methodists, March 25, 1959.

Friend:

Your concern in Christian Social Relations prompts us to write you regarding the Methodist Federation for Social Action, founded in 1907 by men then active leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

It was this Fellowship which pioneered the Social Creed of the Churches. Its goal through the years has been to "promote social action in the spirit of Jesus." It is today probably the best fellowship of its kind in the world. For years, it was the body delegated by the General Conference to study and prepare the social problems of the day to our churches. It was largely as a result of the effective work of the Federation that the Commission on Social and Economic Relations of our Methodist Church was established.

Because we believe MFSA can be a real help in developing individual and group interest at the Annual Conference and local church level and in furthering the splendid work of our official Commission on Social and Economic Relations—because we believe that as you face the problems of our complex civilization today, you will find in the **Social Questions Bulletin** an attempt to apply the mind of the Master to matters of social well-being and human concern in a way that is intelligent, timely and thought provoking—because we believe you will receive for yourself so much of real value in the fellowship of MFSA, and in finding more and better ways of fulfilling the command of the Master to love our neighbor as ourselves—

because we are not offering, until June 30, 1959, a **SPECIAL TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION** to the **SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN**, for one year for **ONLY \$1.00** with **SPECIAL MEMBERSHIP** for **ONLY \$4.00** for the first year to all new members—

We invite you to read the enclosed membership brochure,

see what some national leaders of our church are saying about the MFSA; fill out the application slip and **MAIL NOW** in the enclosed business reply envelope.

Hoping we may have the pleasure and privilege of having you as a member of our Federation or as a subscriber to the Bulletin, we are

Cordially yours,

LOYD F. WORLEY, Hartford, Connecticut.	JESSE M. MALL, Hoisington, Kansas.
	MARK A. CHAMBERLIN, Gresham, Oregon.

"TOGETHER" ADVERTISING DEPT. QUAKES BEFORE MFSA AD

Are Free Speech and Fair Play too Much for
"VOICE" of Methodism?

The Rev. Loyd F. Worley
The First Methodist Church
Hartford 5, Connecticut.

April 14, 1959.

Dear Dr. Worley:

As in previous years, we are obliged to refuse the copy you sent for a classified advertisement in the June issue of **Together**. We are also returning herewith your check in the amount of \$10.50.

As previously stated our decision is based upon the resolution of the General Conference of 1952, and to date this decision has not been revised.

Cordially yours,
TOGETHER
John H. Fisher, Advertising Manager.

Mr. John H. Fisher,
Advertising Manager, "Together,"
740 North Rush Street,
Chicago 11, Illinois.

April 16, 1959.

Dear Mr. Fisher:

I have received yours of the 14th returning my check for a classified "ad" which did not use the word "Methodist."

The resolution of 1952 made no mention of advertising. It was not even mentioned in the sub-committee which prepared the resolution.

It is difficult for me to think of any other attitude than that of vindictiveness and I am sure The Methodist Church as a whole does not share that attitude.

I have tried quietly and with every effort of reasonable persuasiveness to get fair treatment on this issue without success.

Evidently my only recourse is by conference action requesting a decision of the Judicial Council or by memorials to the General Conference. I regret the necessary effort and publicity entailed in this effort.

Very truly yours, LOYD F. WORLEY.

Memorial to 1960 General Conference—Methodist Church
Title: Board of Publication and the unofficial Methodist Federation for Social Action.

WHEREAS, the Methodist Federation for Social Action, organized as an unofficial fellowship as "MFS Service" in 1907, was authorized by the General Conference in 1908 to call the attention of the church to the more important social issues and

Whereas, such authorization has never been officially withdrawn by any General Conference, and

Whereas, however, the General Conference of 1952 affirmed that the public was confused concerning the Federation and that many members were embarrassed by certain pronouncements it had made and action by the Board of Publication in requesting termination of occupancy of quarters in the Methodist Building at 150 Fifth Avenue, N. Y., was approved and

Whereas, The Federation did move its headquarters office to the Pacific coast and no evidence has been presented of continued confusion or embarrassment, and whereas the resolution

of 1952 made no mention of advertising nor gave any mandate to the Board of Publication in any respect save office space in the headquarters building, but that NEVERTHELESS, the Board of Publication has on two occasions refused to accept paid advertising announcing meetings of the Federation citing as authority the resolution of 1952,

Therefore, Be It Resolved that the General Conference of 1960 respectfully be requested to direct the Board of Publication to accept paid advertising of the Federation on the same terms as other organizations, societies, etc.

The above memorial is being offered to the Committee on Memorials of the New York East Annual Conference for presentation and action by the conference, by Loyd F. Worley. We urge you and your Annual Conference to adopt the same or similar memorial.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

In late March and early April headlines were calling attention to the fact that our government had been withholding information needed by our citizens if they are to act intelligently, and in time enough, to save themselves and their descendants from death and mutilation by nuclear weapons. The news stories indicated the government was worried by the prospect of another fallout controversy. They did not mention any concern about the destruction of the democratic process through prevention of the formation and expression of the will of the people.

This situation arose when Senator Anderson, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, put into the record a Defense Department report that had been kept secret for months. According to the New York Times the Senator charged that the Department and the Atomic Energy Commission had attempted to prevent the publication of the report. Senator Humphrey, chairman of the Senate Disarmament sub-committee, told the Senate a "good deal of information is being held back because it casts doubt on some of the earlier statements of Government officials on the danger of weapon tests."

The report showed that the rate of fallout from nuclear weapon tests is much faster than previously believed. Consequently, Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize scientist, declared: "There is cause for great concern. If fallout of strontium 90 is five times as fast as I and others anticipated, that means five times the anticipated damage is done." The damage is that the strontium 90 accumulates on the ground and then through milk and vegetables becomes deposited in the human body where it is a cause of leukemia-cancer of the blood. Several independent surveys show a sharp increase of strontium 90 in food across the country.

Another event that was kept secret for six months was our explosion of three bombs up in space over the South Atlantic—Project Argus. A Defense official called it a "magnificent achievement" with "substantial military implications," these evidently being the reason for secrecy. The New York Times, however, found out about it and in patriotism remained silent until becoming aware it was known elsewhere. Two Russian scientists reported finding high-energy particles at comparative low altitudes above the earth and concluded they were from American space explosions. After other similar happenings the Times made a scoop with the story and was promptly rebuked by the government.

Our official report said that explosions enveloped the earth with an artificial radiation belt in space, the implication being that there was no fallout. The British Manchester Guardian commented:

"According to announcements the radioactive debris 'just spread out in space'. Did it? Are the American authorities really certain that none fell back into the earth's atmosphere? It is hard to share their confidence."

The Louisville Courier Journal said editorially:

"We issued no shipping warnings, in spite of the earlier atomic tragedy of the Fortunate Dragon. (Japanese fishing vessel sprayed with radiation from one of our tests.) We asked nobody's permission to blanket the whole earth with radiation and its resultant fallout. (Not even our collaborators in the International Geophysical Year.)"

The reaction to these events in Washington was proposed for a long range program. The chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission announced that a government-wide review of the fallout problem had been ordered. The National Advisory Committee on Radiation recommended that ultimate authority to protect the public from radiation be transferred from the Atomic Energy Commission to the U. S. Public Health Service. It urged a comprehensive program of control of radiation from all sources; uniform national standards of radiation protection; thorough research program.

Senator Humphrey pointed to the basic need. He warned that the rising level of fallout "means that efforts to halt nuclear weapons testing must continue to be pursued vigorously. This means in the current Geneva Conference for that purpose. In our last issue, Dr. Linus Pauling told us why he thinks that this Conference is the "most important thing in the world today."

Before the situation under discussion arose, some of our atomic officials who do not want tests ended have not only tried to keep needed knowledge from the public but have also misled it concerning the facts. After the usual sparring to begin with the Geneva Conference was making progress. The first two articles of a treaty providing for the ending of tests with controls and inspection to go into operation simultaneously were agreed to in general.

Then a new point arose. The conference was bound by its mandate to base its findings for control and inspection on the decisions of the last summer Geneva meeting of international scientists. Some of our scientists who do not want tests to end announced that new data which increased the difficulty of discriminating between earthquakes and underground atomic explosions invalidated the scientists' findings on this point. Our delegation was instructed to demand discussion of this data.

The Russians refused on the ground that it was an unnecessary diversion from the main business. Moscow issued a statement asserting that if work was to be held up by points raised by experts who do not want a ban tests agreement would never be reached. It further declared that the new data strengthened rather than weakened the Geneva scientists' decision and that in any event, improvements would naturally come in the working out of any system. It concluded that this move confirmed its fears that the United States and Great Britain did not want an agreement to end tests and were looking for an excuse to torpedo the conference.

Since then testimony before our Senate Disarmament sub-committee brought out the fact that the new data was obtained by instruments of less power than those recommended by the scientists at Geneva Conference. The head of our Defense panel on this subject admitted that those instruments would give better results and that methods for improving the Geneva recommended inspection are known to us.

Furthermore, a number of atomic experts are now warning that no test or disarmament inspection system can be absolute fool proof. There comes a point where both sides have to trust the mutual self interest in averting the consequences of nuclear warfare, and trust also the common decency in most of mankind that recoils from letting loose those consequences. Our present danger is that irretrievable disaster may overtake us before our leaders recognize that the risk of relying upon the probability that no nation will deliberately invite suicide and undying infamy is less than the risk of continuing the cold war.

Now is the time for all who believe this to let their government know that democracy means that all the people are sufficiently informed to choose their destiny, also to write our delegation at the Geneva Conference to end tests urging continuous search for agreement. The approaching May meeting offers the opportunity for our organization to do this for all of us collectively.

H.F.W.